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Rush Dr. Benjamin
Historical notes, 1777





Class 111

Book 111

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HISTORICAL NOTES OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH, 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY DR. S. WEIR MITCHELL.

[The following extracts from one of the Note-Books of Dr. Rush, in the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, are particularly interesting and valuable because they contain the abstracts of the speeches made by the doctor and other members of Congress on the question whether the action of the Congress of the New England States, held at Providence, Rhode Island, in December of 1776, regulating the prices of certain domestic and foreign products, required the approval of Congress to make it valid ; to increase the rate of interest on Loan Office certificates ; to refer the appointment of three major-generals to the general officers of the army ; and the proposition of General Charles Lee, while a prisoner of war, for a conference with several members of Congress. Dr. Rush's criticism of Washington and several of his generals, the condition of the army, and his characterization of the political attitude of the people of the United States, although familiar to those who have followed his political career, are still interesting reading.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

Decem^r 25. 1776.

In a *Congress* composed of Deputies from the 4 New Eng^d States of New Hampshire, Mass : Bay, Rhode Island & Connecticut, Decem^r 25. 1776. They agreed to regulate the prices of the follow^s articles at the following rates.

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Farming— $3/4$ ¢ diem, and mechanical labor compared with it in the usual proportion.

Wheat— $7/6$ ¢ Bushel N. H; M. B; & R. I; $6/$ Con:

Rye— $4/6$ D° D° D° D° $3/6$ D°:

Indian Corn— $3/4$ M. B., $3/6$ N. H; R. I: $3/$ D°

Wool— $2/$ ¢ lb M. B.; R. I; Con; $2/2$ N. H:

Pork— 4^d — $4\frac{1}{4}$ $4\frac{1}{2}$ M. B. according to weight ¢ pound.

Pork— $3\frac{1}{4}$ $3\frac{1}{2}$ $3\frac{3}{4}$ ¢ pound Connecticut.

D° $4\frac{1}{2}$ $4\frac{3}{4}$ —New Hampshire.

D° $3\frac{1}{2}$ — $4\frac{1}{2}$ —Rhode Island.

Beef— $3/$ ¢ pound M. B; N. H; R. I: In Connecticutt
 $24/$ ¢ hundred.

Hides— 3^d ¢ pound in all.

Salt— $10/$ ¢ bushel D°.

West India Rum— $6/8$ ¢ gallon by Hogsh^d $7/8$ by the single
gallon—& $2/$ ¢ quart.

New Eng^d Rum— $3/20$ ¢ Hogsh^d $4/$ ¢ barrel, $4/6$ ¢ single
gallon, allowing one penny ¢ gallon for every ten
miles it is carried.

Sugar, best Muscovado— $54/$ ¢ hund: by Hogs^d $60/$ by the
single hundred weight & $/8^d$ ¢ pound for single pound
allow^e $/9$ ¢ hund weight for every ten miles land
carriage.

Molasses— $3/4$ ¢ gallon by hogs^d: & $3/8$ ¢ barrel & $4/$ ¢
single gallon—allow^e $/1$ ¢ gallon for every 10 miles
carriage.

Cheese— $/6^d$ ¢ pound.

Butter— $/10$ D°

Peas— $8/$ ¢ bushel.

Potatoes—In the fall $1/4$ ¢ bushel, in other seasons $2/$
¢ d°

Yarn Stockings— $8/$ ¢ pair.

Mens Shoes— $8/$ ¢ pair.

Salt-pork—M. B; R. Island $92/$ ¢ hundred; $84/$ in Con;
 $100/$ N. Hampshire.

Cotton— $3/$ ¢ bag $3/8$ by the single pound.

Oats— $2/$ ¢ bushel.

Flax—1/ M. B; N. Ham; R. I: 1/— £ pound Con: /10 £ pound.

Coffee—1/4 £ pound in all.

Tallow—/7½ £ pound in all.

Tow Cloath—yard wide 2/3 £ yard—and all coarse linnen in proportion.

Flannels—Yard wide 3/6 £ yard and other flannels in proportion, according to thier widths and qualities, & all woollen cloath in like proportion.

Woollen goods—coarse linnen—Duck Ticklenburg & Osna-brigs shall be sold at 275 Sterling, for what cost 100 in Europe—*prize goods* 250 for what cost 100—All public vendues & auctions to be suppressed—wood—hay—planks—leather—shingles—charcoal—mutton—veal—flour wth the rates of carting to be regulated by the states seperately.

An acc^t of the prices given by General Howe in New Jersey for sundry articles:

Hay—when bro't by the inhabitants $\text{£}4..0..0$ £ ton— $\text{£}3..0..0$ when fetched by the army.

Wheat—6/ £ bushel D° 5/6 D°

Beef—/3^d £ pound /2½ D°

Pork—D° D° D° D°.

Oats—3/ £ bushel 2/6 D°.

Corn—3/— D° D°.

no pay for wood or candle.

Upon motion in Congress whether the meeting held by the four New Eng^d States by deputies at Providence Decem^r 25, 1776, was a proper one and whether it did not stand in need of the approbation of Congress to make it *valid*.—

It was said by *Mr Sam^l Adams*: That a right to assemble upon all occasions to consult measures for promoting liberty & happiness was the priviledge of *freemen*. That it

was contested by Gov^r Hutchinson & that it was dreaded only by tyrants.

Mr. Rich^d Henry Lee: It was said on the same side of the question that we were not yet confederated, therefore no law of the union infringed.

Col. Wilson; on the negative said, that the design in the committee of the 4 New England States in sending their proceedings to Congress was to demand their approbation—That the same was clearly intimated by the tenor of the appointments from Rhode Island and Connecticut,—that the committee had commanded, and countermanded continental troops,—that the said troops were to be paid by the continent,—therefore, that the business the committee transacted was wholly *Continental* and of course, required the approbation of Congress.

Mr. John Adams said, that he lately travelled thro' New Eng^d & that he was sure that the approbation of the Congress of the meeting would give pleasure to the committee and their constituents. That thier meeting was founded in necessity. That altho' we were not confederated, the same principles of equity & reason should govern as if we were united by a confederacy—that the four New England states bore the same relation to the Congress that four counties bore to a single state. These four counties have a right to meet to regulate roads—and affairs that relate to the poor—but they have no right to tax or execute any other branch of legislation. In like manner the four New Eng^d States, or any other four states have a right to meet upon matters wholly indifferent, but they have no right to touch upon continental subjects—that the committee from the 4 New Eng^d States have touched upon continental Subjects, therefore, the *meeting* stands in need of the approbation of the Congress.

Dr Rush: The desire of independance is natural not only to individuals but to communities. There was a time (near 200 years) when it was wrong to say a word agst the dependance of the colonies upon Great Britain—a time came when it was equally criminal to enforce that depend-

ance. The time may come & probably will come, when it will be the interest of the united States to be independant of each other, but I can conceive of no temporal punishment to be severe eno' for that man who attempts to dissolve, or weaken the union for a century or two to come. I admire the proceedings of the committee assembled at Providence. They are full of political virtue & wisdom, and I think the other states will act wisely & virtuously in proportion as they resemble them. But I think the *meeting* is full of great & interesting consequences, and should be regarded with a serious & jealous eye. Thier business was chiefly continental, and therefore they usurped the houses of Congress as much as four counties would usurp the powers of legislation in a state, sh^d they attempt to tax themselves. The committee have in one instance, in regulating the price of goods counterved [?] an express resolution of Congress; and lastly tho' the meeting was necessary and no injustice intended or done by it to any state, yet it becomes us to remember that arbitrary power has often originated in justice & necessity.

This question was decided by a majority in the Committee of the whole house in the *affirmative*—but in the *negative* a few days afterwards. It was reconsidered Feb^y 13th.

Feb^y 10, on motion to raise the interest of money to 6 % cent for loan office tickets, it was said in the negative—

1. That there was no other way of laying out money.
2. That loan office tickets are the same as money, and, therefore, in case of the want of money new emissions are equally proper.

In the affirmative it was said by *Mr Sergeant*, That loan office tickets would be confined only to one State.

By *Mr Jas Wilson*: That Bonds, lands etc., were transferrable as well as loan office tickets, and therefore the argument of thier being the same as money is without force. That the money lenders had all thier money paid into them, that 3 millions had been received by the usurers in Pen-

sylvania, all of which was probably in thier hands, and that if the interest was raised to 6 ¢ cent it w^d procure money.

Mr John Adams : That loan offices tickets would not circulate because they bore an interest. That Massachussets bay in the last war emitted 50,000 in notes bearing an interest of 6 ¢ cent, which were immediately locked up and withdrawn from the circulation, even tho' gold & silver was plentiful among them. That new emissions would only increase the difficulty, that the continent would bear only 7 millions. That unless the interest was raised, the money holder would employ his money in speculation in buying lands and in monopolizing goods, by which means, the necessaries of life were enhanced in thier price; that this alone would regulate the price of goods, that no other wisdom [two lines torn] emission we would rather see our army disbanded, and Howe let loose to ravage the whole country.

Upon calling the question the States (10 in number divided equally). As a proof of the impropriety of each state having a seperate Vote, it is remarkable that there were 18 members for raising the interest & 10 only against it. The States that voted in favor of it were New Hampshire, Massachussets bay, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The inhabitants of these states collectively, make near two-thirds of the whole inhabitants of the united States. [torn] political character in the same light as they do a suit of cloaths. They put it on & off at pleasure. But we trifle with all morality—we trifle with the happiness of millions by not holding up [two pages torn out].

Feb^r 14, 1777.

Upon the question whether the Congress should recommend to the States to adopt the plan for reducing and regulating the price of labor, manufactures, imports, and provisions, which had been adopted in the four New England States. It was said in the negative by

Mr Jas. Smith, That such a recommendation would inter-

fere with the domestic police of each State which were of too delicate a nature to be touched by the Congress.

Dr Rush, I am against the whole of the resolution. It is founded in the contrary of justice—policy & necessity as has been declared in the resolution. The wisdom & power of government have been employed in all ages to regulate the price of necessaries to no purpose. It was attempted in Eng^d in the reign of Edward II by the English parliament, but without effect. The laws for limiting the price of every thing were repealed, and Mr Hume, who mentions this fact, records even the very attempt as a monument of human folly. The Congress with all its authority have failed in a former instance of regulating the price of goods. You have limited Bohea tea to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar, and yet it is daily sold before your eyes for 30/. The committee of Philad^a limited the price of West India goods about a year ago—But what was the consequence? The merchants it is true sold their rum, sugar & molasses at the price limited by the committee, but they charged a heavy profit upon the barrel or the paper which contained the rum or the sugar. Consider, Sir, the danger of failing in this experiment. The Salvation of this continent depends upon the authority of this Congress being held as sacred as the cause of liberty itself. Suppose we should fail of producing the effects we wish for by the resolution before you. Have we any character to spare? Have we committed no mistakes in the management of the public affairs of America? We have, sir! It becomes us therefore, to be careful of the remains of our Authority & character. It is a common thing to cry aloud of the rapacity & extortion in every branch of business & among every class of men. This has led some people to decry the *public virtue* of this country. True Sir, there is not so much of it as we could wish, but there is much more that is sometimes allowed on this floor. We estimate our virtue by a false barometer, when we measure it by the price of goods. The extortion we complain off arises only from the excessive quantity of our money. Now,

Sir, a failure in this attempt to regulate the price of goods will encrease the clamors against the rapacity of dealers, and thus depreciate our public virtue. Consider, Sir, the consequence of measuring our virtue by this false standard. You will add weight to the arguments used at St. James's to explode patriotism altogether, & by denying its existence in this country, destroy it forever. Persuade a woman that there is no such thing as chastity, & if there is that, she does not possess it, and she may be easily seduced if she was as chaste as Diana. Sir, The price of goods may be compared to a number of light substances in a bason of water. The hand may keep them down for a while, but nothing can detain them on the bottom of the bason but an abstraction of the water. The continent labours under a universal malady. From the crown of her head to the Soal of her feet she is full of disorders. She requires the most powerful tonic medicines. The resolution before you is nothing but an *opiate*. It may compose the continent for a night, but she will soon awaken again to a fresh sense of her pain & misery.

Col: Rich^d Henry Lee, (in the affirmative) M^r President: The learned Doctor has mistook the disorder of the continent. He labours under a spasm, and Spasms he knows require *palliative* medicines. I look upon the resolution before you only as a temporary remedy. But it is absolutely necessary. It is true the regulations formerly recommended by Congress were not faithfully carried into execution. But this was owing to the want of regular governments. New & regular governments have been instituted in every part of America, and these will enable all classes of people to carry the resolutions into execution.

M^r Sam^l Chase, (in the affirmative). M^r President: This is a necessary resolution. It is true it failed formerly in Philad^a because it abounded with tories. But it succeeded in Maryland. It must be done. The mines of Peru would not support a war at the present high price of the necessities of life. Your soldiers cannot live on thier pay. It

must be raised, unless we limit the price of the cloathing & other articles necessary for them.

Mr Seargant—(negative). The price of goods cannot be regulated while the quantity of our money and the articles of life are allowed to fluctuate. This is & must be the case with us, therefore we cannot regulate the price of anything.

Col James Wilson—(negative). Mr President: I differ from the gentleman from Virginia about the possibility of carrying the resolution before you into execution. No modern governments, I am sure, have not half the vigilance or authority that the conventions & committees formerly had, and yet these failed in this business. *Connecticut*, where the influence of good laws prevail greatly, adopted this plan with diffidence. There are certain things, Sir, which absolute power cannot do. The whole power of the Roman Emperors could not add a single letter to the Alphabet. Augustus could not compel old batchelors to marry. He found out his error, and wisely repealed his edict, least he should bring his authority into contempt. Let us recommend the resolution to the *consideration* of the states only without giving our opinion on it, that they may discuss it with unbiassed minds. Foreign trade is absolutely necessary to enable us to carry on the war. This resolution will put an end to it, for it will hang as a dead weight upon all the operations of external commerce.—

Dr Wetherspoon—(Negative). Sir, It is a wise maxim to avoid those things which our enemies wish us to practise. Now I find that our enemies have published the act of the Assembly of Connecticut for regulating the price of necessities in the New York paper, in order to shew our distress from that quarter. I believe the regulations would be just if the quantity of money and the scarcity of goods bore an exact proportion to each other. But the price of goods is by no means proportioned to the quantity of money in every thing. The encrease of price began 1st upon the *Luxuries*; 2nd *Necessaries*; 3^d *Manufactories*; & 4th *Grain*, and other produce of the earth. Now the reason why it

has reached grain &c last, is owing to thier quantity being plentiful & to an overproportion of money. Remember laws are not almighty. It is beyond the power of despotic princes to regulate the price of goods. Tea and salt are higher in proportion than any other articles of trade, owing entirely to thier price being limited. In Pensylvania salt was limited to 15/ but was sold for 60/ $\frac{2}{3}$ bushel, while at the same time, it was sold in Virginia, where there was no limitation, for 10/ a bushel. I fear if we fail in this measure, we shall weaken the authority of Congress—we shall do mischief by teaching the continent to *rest* upon it. If we limit *one* article—we must limit *every thing*—and this is impossible.

Mr John Adams—(Negative). Perhaps I may here speak agst the sense of my constituents, but I cannot help it. I much doubt the justice, policy & necessity of the resolution. Its policy & necessity depend upon its practicability, and if it is practicable, I believe it will be *unjust*. It amounts to the same as raising the value of your money to double its present value, & this experiment was tried in vain, even in the absolute government of France. The high price of many articles arises from thier scarcity. If we regulate the price of imports we shall immediately put to stop to them for ever.

Dr Rush. Sir, It has been said that, the high price of goods in Philad^a arose from the monopolies, and extortion of the tories. Here I must say the tories are blamed without cause. A similar spirit of speculation prevails among the whigs in Philad^a. They are disposed to realise thier money in lands, or goods. But this is not owing to any timidity or disaffection among them. They fear the further depreciation of your money by future emissions. Stop your emissions of money, & you will stop speculation, & fill your treasury from the loan offices. I beg leave to inform Congress that the committee of Philad^a was supported by the country people in thier attempt to regulate the price of West India goods, but

were notwithstanding unsuccessful. Now, Sir, the country people are equally concerned with the merchants in keeping up the price of every thing, and in eluding laws for reducing them. I am not apt to reply to *words*, much less to *play* upon them. The gentleman from Virginia has mis-called the malady of the continent. It is not a spasm, but a dropsy. I beg leave to prescribe two remedies for it. 1., Raising the interest of the money we borrow to 6 ¢ cent; this like a cold bath will give an immediate *spring* to our affairs, & 2., *taxation*; This like *tapping*, will diminish the quantity of our money, and give a proper value to what remains.

The resolution was amended. The plan of the 4 New England states was *referred* only to the other states, to act as they tho't proper.

Feb^r 19, 1777.

Upon the question for referring the appointment of three major generals, to the general officers of the army, it was said in the *negative*:

Dr Rush. I have heard the Congress more than once called a *republic*. I love to realise the idea, and I hope it will inspire us with the virtuous principles of republican governments. One of the most powerful & happy commonwealths in the world, Rome, called her general officers from the plough & paid no regard to rank, service or seniority. We have of late been successful it is true, but I despair of our country being saved till the instrumentality of military wisdom & virtue are employed for that purpose, and these can never be had till we use a sovereign power in calling them forth where ever we find them. It is to no purpose to talk of the practice of despotic princes. They promote according to seniority it is true, but they possess an absolute power of recalling, disgracing, or breaking thier general officers as soon as they make them, and we find they are fond of exerceing this power upon the least neglect, inattention, or want of success. The case is different with us. A general may loose a battle or a province, and we possess no power to recall or to displace him. If the motion

is passed, I shall move immediately afterwards that all the civil power of the continent may be transferred from our hands into the hands of the army, & that they may be proclaimed the highest power of the people.

Dr Wetherspoon—Mr President: I am against the motion. It will produce faction, and disputes among your generals. I once left the honors of the college over which I preside, to the choice of the senior class. But it produced so much confusion & ill blood, that I was obliged to resume that power again, and have since exercised to the satisfaction of my pupils as well as my own.

Col Rich^d Henry Lee; I wish the learned Doctor would distinguish between the practice of children & men. Our generals would certainly make a judicious choice, and would not be governed by the principles which actuate boys at school.

John Adams; Mr President—I differ from the gentleman who spoke last. There are certain principles which follow us thro' life, and none more certainly than the *love of the first place*. We see it in the forms on which Children sit at Schools. It prevails equally to the last period of life. I am sorry to find it prevails so little in this Assembly. I have been distressed to see some members of this house disposed to idolize an image which thier own hands have molten. I speak here of the superstitious veneration y^t is sometimes paid to Gen^l Washington. Altho' I honour him for his good qualities, yet in this house I feel myself his superior. In private life I shall always acknowledge that he is mine. It becomes us to attend early to the restraining our army. This we shall find the next difficult thing to prevent: the depreciation of our money. I have no fears from the resignation of officers if junior officers are preferred to them. If they have virtue they will continue with us. If not, thier resignation will not hurt us.

Congress received a letter Feb^y 20th 1777, from Gen^l Lee, a prisoner in New York (written by permission of Lord &

General Howe) requesting a conference with two or three members of Congress upon matters of the last importance to himself, & in his opinion to America, upon which it was said by

Dr Rush,—Mr President,—In considering of the propriety of this request, it becomes us 1, to attend to the present situation of the court of Britain, 2^d, to the conduct & characters of Lord and General Howe, and 3, to the conduct, & character of General Lee. 1, The court of Britain is alarmed with the fear of a french war. They wish to terminate the present war in America by a negociation as well as by the sword. They have no terms to offer us. They mean only to deceive & divide us. 2, Lord & Gen^l Howe were chosen as fit instruments for seducing & deceiving the colonies. They have practised many arts for that purpose. Witness the conference they extorted from the Congress thro' Gen^l Sullivan last summer. They have been told by the reinforcement of tories, that lately joined them, its effect upon the people of America, & they expect thro' a better instrument (Gen^l Lee) to produce greater & worse effects by a conference with the members of Congress set on foot at thier request by the General. 3, General Lee with all his great qualities, possesses the weakness of being easily imposed upon. His charecters of men are dictated by caprice or passion. I have seldom known him give a *true* charecter of any man. He is fond of negociations & conferences. He tried to bring about an interview with Gen^l Burgoyne at Cambridge, for that purpose. He urged a second interview with Lord Howe last summer. I believe Gen^l Lee to be honest & sincerely attached to our cause, but some people suppose he threw himself in the way of being taken prisoner. Considering all these things, I maintain that a compliance with the general's request would be impolitic, & highly dangerous to the union & safety of the united States.

Mr Jn^o Adams. Mr President,—I am against the proposed conference. It will do mischief. The last conference with Lord Howe did no good. The Whigs were

alarmed with it, and the tories complained that the reason why it did not end in negotiation was because improper men were sent, and because the Congress did not relax eno' from its dignity. I admire Gen' Lee for his military talents, but he possesses an unbounded share of Vanity. This Vanity led him to correspond with Gen' Burgoyne, and induced him to propose himself as one of a committee to confer with Lord Howe. His Lordship has no terms to offer us. The king's speech is *decisive* against us. It lets loose all the dogs of war & corruption upon us. But it carries a remedy to its terrors along with it, it holds out the probability of a war wth France.

Mr Chase, I am against the conference, but I move for the publication of Gen' Lee's letter to the Congress, in order to satisfy our constituents, who have heard that it contains propositions of peace.

Mr Middleton, I am against the conference for the reasons that have been given. Lord Howe has made use of Gen' Lee as a decoy duck, to take in the colonies. I am against the publication of the General's letter to the Congress, Unless you publish with it his letter to Gen' Washington, in which he requests the company of his aid-de-camp and his dogs.

Col. Harrison, I suspect Lord & General Howe have offered Gen' Lee his life on condition of his bringing about this conference, which is designed to betray us into a negotiation. It will suspend our military operations, and injure us in the court of France, where our commissioners are now soliciting an Alliance for us. The last conference wth Lord Howe had this effect. Let us suppose that he means only to confer with us about his private affairs, and let us pass a resolution declaring our determination to support him & our willingness to hear & transact any thing that related to his safety or interest.

This resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The Question for raising the interest of loan office certificates from 4 to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ct was determined in the affirmative

by the following states; N. H; M. B; C.; N. J; P; V; & G. In the negative R. I; N. and S. C; Maryland divided.

Mr Carter Braxton, of Virginia, speaking of the [torn] of New England, in the Virginia convention, before the declaration of Independance said: "I abhor thier manners—I abhor thier laws—I abhor thier governments—I abhor thier religion." I say on the contrary, "I admire thier manners—I admire thier laws—I admire thier governments—I admire thier religion." The people of America may be divided into the five following classes.

1. *A rank tory.* This class are advocates for unconditional submission to Great Britain. They rejoice in all the misfortunes that befall the united States. They fabricate lies to deceive and divide the people of America. They employ their utmost ingenuity to depreciate the continental money.

Moderate men. This class are advocates for the situation of the year 1763. They have no relish for independance. They are influenced either 1, by a connection with men who hold offices under the old Government. 2nd, by an attachment to the pomp, and hiarchy of the church of England which is reduced to a level with the other protestant churches by the Declaration of independance, or 3^{ly}, by a fondness for those luxuries which were introduced among us by our commerce wth Great Britain. In this respect they resemble the children of Israel, who say of themselves, "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic: But now our Soul is dried away; There is nothing [torn] besides the Manna before our eyes." *Numb. xi and 5 & 6.* They think freedom too dear when purchased with the temporary loss of tea, coffee, sugar, and wine, good mutton, beef, Bread, milk, and the fruits of the earth, which are the *manna* of this country, appear as nothing at all in thier eyes. Lastly it is characteristic of a moderate man to hate all true whigs, and to love all rank tories.

3. *The timid Whigs*, form a third class of the people of America. They entertain a terrible idea of the resources & power of G. Britain, and a false idea of the resources and power of America. The loss of a few riflemen in a Skirmish, or a fort, or a Village, induce them to conclude that the contest is over and that America is subdued. [torn] terrified at the expense of the war as much as the sight of a musquet, they fly into the most obscure corners for safety. After a defeat, they refuse continental money, but upon the news of a victory they come forth, appear stout, and wonder that any body sh^d dread the power of Britain.

4. *furious Whigs*. This class of men injure the cause of liberty, as much by their violence as the timid Whigs do by thier fears. They think the Destruction of Howe's army of less consequence than the detection & punishment of the most insignificant tory. They wish for laws & good government, not so much to collect the Strength of our country against Great Britain, as to punish our internal enemies. They think the common forms of Justice sh^d be suspended towards a tory criminal, [and] that a man who only speaks against our common defence [torn] tomahawked, scalped, and roas[t]ed alive. Lastly, they are always cowards, & shrink under the cover of an office, or a sickly family, when they are called upon to oppose the enemy in the field.

5. *The Staunch Whigs*, form the 5th and last class of the people of America. They are friends to liberty from principle. They esteem the loss of property, friends, even of life itself as nothing when compared with Slavery. Perseverance & firmness belong to thier character. They are never dismayed with misfortunes, or unusually elated with undecisive advantages over our enemies. They are implacable in thier hatred as to the court of Britain. They had rather renounce thier existence than thier beloved independance. They have an unshaken [faith] in the divine justice, and they [es]teem it a mark of equal folly & impiety, to beleive that Great Britain can ever subdue America. They

are friends to order & good government. They despise the little acts of the tories to injure our cause, and aim at thier destruction chiefly by the destruction of the army & commerce of our enemies. They are just and merciful in the exercise of power. They esteem virtue & wisdom as the principal qualities in legislators, and are unwilling to trust power in the hands of "Bullies, bankrupts, and black-heads."

6. Neither Whigs nor Tories. These men change their conduct, and conversation according to the times and thier company. They have no principles of any kind.

The declaration of independance was said to have divided and weakened the colonies. The contrary of this was the case. Nothing but the signing, & recognising of the declaration of independance, preserved the Congress from a dissolution in Decem^r 1776, when Howe marched to the Delaware. Maryland had instructed her delegates to concur in an accomodation, notwithstanding *any measure* (meaning independance) to the contrary. But further, the declaration of independance produced a secession of tories, timid, moderate & double minded men, from the counsels of America, in consequence of which the Congress, as well as each of the states, have possessed ten times the vigor and strength they had formerly.

April 8, 1777.

A number of Indian chiefs came from Fort Pitt, (where a treaty had been held with them by commissioners appointed by Congress) came to Philad^a in Nov^r 1776. They were all introduced to the Congress. They took each member by the hand, and afterwards sat down. One of them (after a pause of 10 minutes) rose up and addressed the Congress in the following words.

"Brothers, we received your commissioners at the little counsel fire at Fort Pitt. 2, We wiped the sweat from their bodies. We cleansed the dirt from thier ankles. We pulled the thorns from [their] feet. We took thier staffs from thier hands, and leaned them [against] the tree of

peace. We took thier belts from thier waists, and conducted them to the seats of peace.”

April 8th, 1777.

Gen^l Howe’s army at Burnswick & New York is now in motion. A majority of the people of Philad^a think that thier destination is up the North river in order to join Gen^l Carleton, so as to cut off the communication between the Eastern & Southern states, agreeably to the original plan of the british ministry. But I think it most probable that thier object is Philad^a, for the following reasons. 1. Because it is obviously agst the interest of Howe’s army to come to Philad^a and a ignorance of thier true interest is the only thing that has appeared like uniformity in thier conduct. 2^y. The design of the present war is to chastise the people of America, and this can only be done by changing the seat of war; & 3^y, to purify it of toriism and to eradicate timidity & moderation. This can only be done by Howe’s coming within the sphere of the attraction of the tories & moderate men. 4^y. There is a false confidence in the situation & strength of the city of Philad^a, and in the spirit & number of our troops. The same kind of confidence prev^d in New York before its reduction last year.

April 8th, 1777.

I think it more than probable the General Washington will not close the present war wth g. Britain. 1. Because in ordinary revolutions different characters always appear in thier first and last stages. 2. Because his talents are better fitted to unite the people of America into one body than to give them afterwards a national complexion. 3. Because his talents are unequal to those degrees of discipline and decision, which alone can render an army finally successful. 4. Because he is idolised by the people of America, and is tho’t to be absolutely necessary for us to enable us to carry on the w[ar].

The tories may be subdivided into—

1. Advocates for supremacy of parliament.

2. Advocates for 1763.

3. Enemies to independance. All alike *enemies to the cause of America.*

The Whigs may be divided into—

1. Such as contend for *power.*

2. Such as contend from *resentm^t:*

3. Such as contend for *mili^r glory.*

4. Such as contend for *liberty.*

5. Such as aim only at *interest.*

Capt: Leslie's grave in Pluckamin churchyard, near the grave of Elizth Melick, daughter of Aaron, and Charlotte Melick.

During the war between G. B: & America, all reports proved false that were 1st, picked up at sea; 2^{dly} on the road or at ferries, & 3, from Frenchmen.

1777 Octob^r 10th—Dined with the commander in chief of American army—no wine—only grog—knives & forks eno' for only half the company—one half the company eat after the other had dined at the same table. The General gave the head of his table to one of his aids-de-camp, and sat 2^d or 3rd from him on his left side.

State and Disorders in the American army Octob^r 1777.

1. The commander-in-chief at this time the *idol of America*—governed by Gen^l Greene—Gen. Knox & Col. Hamilton, one of his aids, a young man of 21 years of age.

2. 4 Major Generals,—Greene, Sullivan, Stirling & Stevens. The 1st a sycophant to the general, timid, speculative, without enterprise; the 2nd, weak, vain, without dignity, fond of scribbling, in the field a madman. The 3^d, a proud, vain, lazy, ignorant, drunkard. The 4th, a sordid, boasting cowardly sot.

The troops dirty, undisciplined, & ragged, guns fired 100 a day; pickets left 5 days & sentries 24 hours, without relief; bad bread; no order; universal disgust.

Acc't of American army at Valley Forge March 1778.

The encampment dirty & stinking, no forage for 7 days—
1500 horses died from y^e want of it. 3 ounces of meal &
3 pounds of flour in 7 days. Men dirty & ragged. The
commander-in-chief and all y^e Major Generals lived in
houses out of y^e Camp.

1777, November 9.—Came to Burlington [New Jersey].¹

November 11.—Went to Red Bank.

November 12.—Returned today.

November 16.—Left Burlington, and lodged at Pet.
Talmans.

November 17.—Came to Princetown.

December 1.—To Trenton and returned.

1778, January 2.—Left Princetown and lodged at Rush
Hill.

January 3.—Lodged at General Sullivan's quarters.²

January 4.—Lodged at Charles Risk's.

January 5.—Lodged at Lancaster.³

January 8.—Came to Yorktown.

¹ This diary describes the movements of Dr. Rush during the occupa-
tion of Philadelphia by the British army. A number of the annota-
tions have been taken from his manuscripts.

² Dr. Rush made the following copy of a paper he saw hung up in
General Sullivan's quarters :

Names of Officers who distinguished themselves in building y^e bridge
over Shuilkill 1778.

His Ex^t Gen^l

Washington.

Major Pollard,

Major Thayer,

Capt. Chadwick,

Lieut. Parker,

Col. Chandler,

Capt. Frye,

Hon^{ble} Major Gen^l

Sullivan.

Col. Charlton,

Lieut. Mason,

Maj^r Cortland,

Maj^r Brum,

Col. Basset,

Lieut. [torn].

Capt. Smith,

Lieut. Jewet.

³ On the 7th he took tea and spent the evening at the home of Chris-
topher Marshall.

January 30.—Resigned my Commission; left Yorktown and came to Lancaster.¹

February 12.—Came to Reading.

February 15.—To Allentown.

February 16.—To Bethlehem.²

February 18.—To Johnsons.

February 19.—To Princetown.

March 11.—Left Princetown.

March 12.—Lodged at Dr. Moore's.

March 13.—Arrived in Camp at Valley Forge, and lodged with General Poor.³

March 14.—Lodged at Moore Hall, with Col. [Clement] Biddle and the Commissioners from Congress for reforming ye Army.

March 16.—Lodged at Gen. Greene's.

March 17.—Lodged at Capt. [Harry] Lee's near Camp.

March 18.—Lodged at Dr [Nicholas] Way's at Wilmington [Delaware].

March 22.—Came to Mr. Joseph Mifflins at Nottingham.

March 23.—At Halls.⁴

March 24.—Returned to Wilmington.

April 1.—To Mr. Mifflin's.

April 3.—To Mr. Smith's.

April 4.—Cochran's Tavern; full of wagoners; no liquor; a quiet house.

April 5.—To Elijah Ward's.

April 6.—Andrew Bunners.

April 7.—At Newtown: supped with the Commissioners, viz: *Americans*, Colonels Hamilton, Harrison, Grayson, and Mr. Boudinot—*British*: Colonels O'Hara and Stevens, and Capt. Fitzpatrick.⁵

¹ Surgeon and Physician-General of the Middle District, Continental army.

² He lodged at the Sun Inn.

³ General Poor's brigade was located next to that of General Wayne.

⁴ Elihu Hall, Mount Welcome, Cecil County, Maryland. The estate is now owned by Mr. P. S. P. Conner.

⁵ Cf. PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XXIV. p. 291.

April 14.—To Burlington.

April 16.—To Princetown.

April 20.—Left Princetown and came to Mr. Evans' two miles from the Meetinghouse, in company with Major Hopkins, Duval and Capt. —.

May 5.—Came to Wilmington.

May 7.—At Mrs. Barclay's.

May 8.—To Dan Smith's.

May 9.—To Cochran's tavern.

May 10.—To my brothers.

May 12.—Mr Evans'.

May 13.—To Princetown.

May 27.—Left Princetown with my wife and lodged at Mr. Hood's near Howell's Ferry.

May 28.—Lodged at Mr. Evans'.

May 29.—Came to my brothers.

June 6.—Went to Capt. Alisons'.¹

June 8.—Returned to my brothers.

June 10.—Set off for Mr. Hall's and lodged at Mr. Mifflins.

June 11.—Reached Mr. Hall's.

June 17.—Left Mr. Hall's, and lodged at Mr. Smith's.

June 18.—Returned to my brother's.

June 20.—Set off, for Philadelphia, lodged at Mr. Crawford's.

June 21.—Arrived in Philadelphia.

July 17.—Returned with Mrs. Rush and settled again in our old house in Philadelphia.²

¹ A nephew of Rev. Dr. Francis Alison, of the University of Pennsylvania, living in Chester County.

² "Dr. Benjamin Rush and Julia Stockton were married January 11, 1776, at Princeton, by the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon;" and he further records, "John Rush, son of the above, born July 17, 1777, between the hours of 12 and 1 in the morning, at Elihu Hall's Esq., at Mount Welcome, Cecil County, Mary^d and baptised July 20th following by the Rev^d Dr. John Ewing." John "stood alone at 6 months supported by a wall." Dr. Rush lived in the house formerly Chief-Justice Shippen's, on Fourth Street opposite Willings Alley.

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